

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01

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R 210900Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4245

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 1898

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PFOR, US

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: MULTILATERAL

INFORMATION ON HOST GOVERNMENTS

REF: STATE 37591

HEREWITH OUR REPLIES TO QUESTIONS POSED CM REFTEL

PARA 7:

### A. MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES.

(1) MANY OF THE MULTILATERAL ISSUES IN WHICH  
PAKISTAN WILL BE TAKING THE GREATEST INTEREST IN 1976  
ARE IN THE ECONOMIC AREA, AND FOCUS ON THE VARIOUS  
INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS WHICH ARE OR WILL BE TAKING  
PLACE: CIEC, UNCTAD, MTN, AND THE MEETINGS ON IMF  
RESTRUCTURING AND IDA REPLENISHMENT. THE GOP'S  
HIGHEST PRIORITY OBJECTIVE IS TO REACH INTERNATIONAL  
AGREEMENT ON MEASURES TO ALLEVIATE THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS  
PROBLEMS OF PAKISTAN AND THE OTHER MOST SERIOUSLY  
AFFECTED NATIONS THROUGH NEW OR EXPANDED RESOURCE  
TRANSFER MECHANISMS AND/OR THROUGH DEBT RELIEF. ALSO  
IMPORTANT, ALTHOUGH THE GOP LOOKS ON IT AS MORE OF A  
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LONG-TERM ISSUE AND HENCE OF SOMEWHAT LESS IMMEDIATE  
CONCERN, IS IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITIONS OF PAKISTAN'S

FOREIGN TRADE, THROUGH EXPANDED GSP, REDUCTION (OR, AS PAKISTAN HAS PROPOSED, ELIMINATION) OF TARIFFS ON EXPORTS OF THE MOST SERIOUSLY Affected COUNTRIES, AND/OR ABOLITION OF QUOTA RESTRICTIONS ON PAKISTAN'S TEXTILE EXPORTS. WE HAVE REPORTED FAIRLY EXTENSIVELY ON THESE POSITIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF CIEC, BUT THE SAME POSITIONS AND PROPOSALS ARE LIKELY TO COME UP AGAIN AT THE OTHER MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC MEETINGS MENTIONED ABOVE. THE FULLEST DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PAKISTAN POSITION ARE GIVEN IN 75 ISLAMABAD 5952, 7443 AND 76/1285; OTHER REPORTS WHICH FLESH OUT THE GOP STANCE ARE ISLAMABAD 5, 35, 38, 619, 720, 970, 1698 AND 1693 (ALL 1976).

(2) IN THE POLITICAL/SECURITY AREA, THE GOP CONTINUES TO BE VITALLY INTERESTED IN PURSUING ITS EARLIER EFFORT TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES. 76 ISLAMABAD 175 PROVIDES LATEST GOP THINKING AS PASSED TO US HERE, BUT MOST EXCHANGES IN THE DISARMAMENT AREA HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA (SEE 75 USUN 5986, 5528, AND 5510). CLOSELY RELATED IS THE GOP'S POST-INDIAN PNE INTEREST IN THE SOUTH ASIA NUCLEAR FREE ZONE, AND, BY EXTENSION, IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OTHER NUCLEAR FREE REGIONAL AREAS. INDIAN OCEAN MATTERS WILL ALSO FIGURE HIGH ON THE GOP'S PRIORITY LIST, THOUGH IN A MANNER LARGELY CONDITIONED BY PAK OPPOSITION TO PROPOSALS WHICH SEEM TO THE GOP TO INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF INDIAN "DOMINATION" OF THE AREA. HAVING EXPENDED LARGE AMOUNTS OF ENERGY AND, PRESUMABLY, POLITICAL CREDITS IN ITS SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO WIN A SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT, THE GOP IS UNLIKELY TO PUSH HARD FOR PAK CANDIDACIES IN OTHER FORA.

(3) BY WINNING A UNSC SEAT FOR 1976-77, THE GOP WILL IPSO FACTO BE OBLIGED TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE PART IN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY AND TO BECOME MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN CERTAIN ISSUES THAN IT MIGHT OTHERWISE WISH. FOR BOTH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS, THE PAKS WILL BE OBLIGED TO BE "SEEN TO CONFIDENTIAL  
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BE DOING SOMETHING" ON MATTERS COMING BEFORE THE UNSC WHICH INVOLVE THE MUSLIM WORLD, PARTICULARLY THSS MIDDLE EAST. ITS ROLE IN THE JANUARY DEBATE IS AN EXAMPLE AND A FORETASTE OF THIS.

B. INFLUENCE OF OTHERS.

(1) PAKISTAN'S POSITION ON MULTILATERAL POLICY ISSUES IS VEY MUCH AFFECTED BY ITS RELATIONS WITH TWO OVERLAPPING GROUPS OF COUNTRIES -- THE MUSLIM NATIONS

AND THE GROUP OF 77. IT IS ALSO SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCED IN CERTAIN AREAS BY WHAT IT CONSIDERS ITS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC.

(2) PAKISTAN HAS BEEN SEEKING TO DEVELOP AND ENHANCE ITS ROLE AS AN INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF THE MUSLIM WORLD AND OF THE THIRD WORLD ESTABLISHMENT. THESE ASPIRATIONS MAKE PAKISTAN RELUCTANT TO DEVIATE FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF OPINION IN EITHER GROUP. EXAMPLES OF THIS ATTITUDE ABOUND: THE ARAB-ISRAELI QUESTION, GENERAL STATEMENTS OF PRINCIPLE SUCH AS THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, AND THE GOP'S UNWILLINGNESS TO CRITICIZE THE OPEC COUNTRIES DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES IT HAS EXPERIENCED FOLLOWING THE OIL PRICE INCREASE ARE THE MOST FAMILIAR. AT THE SAME TIME, THE GOP CONSIDERS ITSELF A MORE EXPERIENCED AND MORE RESPONSIBLE THIRD WORLD POWER THAN MANY MORE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES, AND BOTH PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO AND THE PROFESSIONALS OF THE GOP FOREIGN OFFICE AND ECONOMIC BUREAUCRACY REGARD THEMSELVES AS COMPARATIVELY SOPHISTICATED IN DEALING WITH THE REALITIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE. IN THIS CONTEXT, THEY CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT NOT UNDULY TO PROVOKE THE WEST, AND PARTICULARLY THE US, TO WHICH THEY CONTINUE TO LOOK FOR SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT. PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S PERSONAL AMBITION TO PLAY A STATEMAN'S, HENCE STATESMANLIKE,ROLE ALSO INFLUENCES THE GOP'S APPROACH.

(3) THESE CONSIDERATIONS LIE BEHIND THE GOP'S OFTEN REPEATED CLAIM TO US THAT WHILE PAKISTAN MUST  
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VOTE WITH THE THIRD WORLD MAJORITY ON CONTENTIOUS ISSUES, IT SEEKS TO PLAY A MODERATING ROLE BEHIND THE SCENES. PAKISTAN'S EFFORTS TO WORK OUT A MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO THE ARABS AND TO THE US DURING THE RECENT UNSC DEBATE SHOULD BE SEEN IN THAT LIGHT. THE SAME IS TRUE FOR THE GOP'S APPARENT EFFORTS TO HELP KEEP THE UNGA SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION FROM

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ACTION IO-11

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INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4246

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 1898

DEGENERATING INTO A RHETORICAL CONFRONTATION. WHEN PAKISTAN'S OWN PRAGMATIC INTERESTS ARE STRONGLY ENGAGED IN A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME, AS IN INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS OF NEW OR EXPANDED AID MECHANISMS, THESE CAN REINFORCE PAKISTAN'S DESIRE TO BE STATESMANLIKE. FOR MORE BACKGROUND OF THE INTERACTION BETWEEN MUSLIM AND THIRD WORLD POLITICS AND PAKISTAN'S MULTILATERAL POLICY-MAKING, SEE 75 ISLAMABAD 4644 AS WELL AS THE CIEC REPORTS CITED ABOVE./

(4) THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRC ON GOP ATTITUDES TOWARD MULTILATERAL ISSUES IS MOST EVIDENT IN EAST ASIAN ISSUES. PEKING'S INFLUENCE HAS FIGURED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE GOP APPROACH TO THE KOREAN ISSUE AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. CHINESE VIEWS ON EAST ASIAN QUESTIONS ALSO SERVE AT TIMES TO STRENGTHEN THE GOP'S DETERMINATION TO PURSUE A LINE IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN WITHOUT PEKING'S INTERVENTION. THIS CHINESE PRESSURE IS THEN CITED AS AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN GOP EXPLANATIONS TO US AS TO WHY PAKISTAN HAS BEEN UNABLE TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING IN RESPONDING TO US REPRESENTATIONS. THE CAMBODIAN RECOGNITION ISSUE IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF BOTH THESE GOP PRACTICES.

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C. INSTRUCTIONS TO DELEGATIONS.

(1) GENERAL ASSEMBLY. GOP PRACTICE IN RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN TO HAVE ITS MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HEAD THE PAKISTAN UNGA DELEGATION

DURING THE FIRST FEW WEEKS OF THE SESSION, AFTER WHICH HE IS RELIEVED BY THE FOREIGN SECRETARY. (SINCE THE PRIME MINISTER HOLDS THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTFOLIO, THE MINISTER OF STATE IS IN EFFECT "POLITICAL" HEAD OF MFA. THE FOREIGN SECRETARY IS THE SENIOR CIVIL SERVANT AT THE MINISTRY.) THE LATTER ORDINARILY STAYS UNTIL SOME-TIME IN NOVEMBER. ALTHOUGH POLICIES ON MAJOR FORESEEABLE ISSUES ARE WORKED OUT IN ADVANCE AND ARE IN LARGE PART SPELLED OUT IN LONG WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS DRAFTED IN MFA BEFORE SESSION STARTS, IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT DURING THEIR PRESENCE IN NEW YORK THE MINISTER OF STATE AND THE FOREIGN SECRETARY HAVE CONSIDERABLE LATITUDE IN DEVELOPING STRATEGY AND POSITIONS WITHIN THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED FRAMEWORK OF PAK POLICY. EXCEPTIONS ARE THOSE SENSITIVE ISSUES INVOLVING SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN PRESSURES IN WHICH THE MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN SECRETARY WOULD RECOGNIZE THAT BHUTTO HIMSELF SHOULD BE -- AND WOULD EXPECT TO BE -- PERSONALLY INVOLVED. (AN EXAMPLE LAST YEAR WAS THE KOREAN VOTE.) FOR THE BALANCE OF THE SESSION, CONTROL FROM ISLAMABAD IS TIGHTER. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE AND COMPETENCE OF THE PAK UN PERM REP AND HIS STAFF, THE HIGH REGARD IN WHICH THEY ARE HELD BY ISLAMABAD, AND THE NEED TO HOLD DOWN CABLE EXPENSES, MANY MATTERS IN THESE LAST WEEKS ARE PROBABLY ALSO WORKED OUT ON THE SPOT WITHOUT SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS FROM MFA.

(2) SECURITY COUNCIL. SOME OF THE SAME CONSIDERATIONS ALSO APPLY TO PAK PARTICIPATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE PERM REP PROBABLY ENJOYS CERTAIN LEEWAY WITHIN THE GENERAL POLICY FRAMEWORK. HE WILL BE INSTRUCTED ON ALL IMPORTANT ISSUES WHEN THERE IS LIKELY TO BE ANY DOUBT AS TO POSITION, STRATEGY, OR TACTICS.

(3) IN GENERAL, GOP POSITIONS AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ARE WORKED OUT IN ADVANCE BY CONCERNED CONFIDENTIAL

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MINISTRIES. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THESE POSITION PAPERS PROVIDE DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS ON TACTICS, WHICH ARE GENERALLY LEFT TO DELEGATIONS. AS AT UN, THE DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE WHICH A DELEGATION WILL ENJOY IN INTERPRETING ITS INSTRUCTIONS WILL DEPEND SIGNIFICANTLY ON THE CLOUT WITHIN THE GOP OF ITS LEADER. THE GOP HAS NO PROBLEM IN RETAINING EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER ITS DELEGATION BUT WHERE THE PAK DELEGATION IS LED BY A SENIOR OFFICIAL WHO MAY HIMSELF BE THE PRINCIPAL POLICY MAKER ON THE SPECIFIC ISSUES DEALT WITH AT THE CONFERENCE, THIS CONTROL MAY BE EXERCISED (WITHIN THE GENERAL LIMITS SET BY INSTRUCTIONS) BY THE

LEADER HIMSELF. DELEGATIONS ORDINARILY KEEP ISLAMABAD INFORMED ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF SESSIONS, THOUGH NOT TO THE SAME EXTENT OR WITH THE SAME PROMPTNESS A US DELEGATION WOULD. IN FAST-MOVING SITUATIONS OR PARTICULARLY COMPLEX ONES, ISLAMABAD MAY NOT BE IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL TIMELY INSTRUCTIONS OR TO ACT ON (OR IN SOME CASE EVEN TO UNDERSTAND) DEMARCHE MADE BY THE EMBASSY INVOLVING MEETINGS ALREADY IN PROGRESS.

D. ROLE OF REPS. QUESTIONS RAISED IN THIS SECTION ARE LARGE DEALT WITH IN COMMENTS IN PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS. PERMANENT REPS AND DELEGATION HEADS MAY HAVE INDEPENDENT POWER IN BUREAUCRATIC SENSE AS RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITIES ACTING WITHIN THEIR OWN AREAS OF COMPETENCE ANY MAY BE IN A POSITION AT TIMES TO INTERPRET THE INSTRUCTIONS THEY HAVE HAD A PRIMARY HAND IN DRAFTING. GOP GENERALLY DOES NOT FACE PROBLEM OF RUNAWAY DELEGATIONS NOT AMENABLE TO CONTROL. THE QUESTION INSTEAD IS WHERE WITHIN LIMITS SET BY INSTRUCTIONS THIS CONTROL IS EXERCISED. THIS IS OF COURSE A KEY ELEMENT IN DETERMINING WHERE DEMARCHE CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY BE ADDRESSED.

E. RECEPITIVITY. GOP IS VERY RECEPTIVE TO US REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. WE ARE CAREFULLY HEARD OUT AT APPROPRIATELY SENIOR LEVELS AND ON OCCASION WE ARE EVEN CALLED IN AND ASKED OUR POSITION BEFORE WE MAKE (OR AT TIMES ARE PREPARED TO MAKE) OUR DEMARCHE.  
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THE CONCEPT THAT INTERACTION WITH US ON THESE ISSUES IS PART OF BILATERAL RELATIONS IS ACCEPTED BY THE PAKS, WHO ARE ACCUSTOMED TO SIMILAR INTERACTION WITH OTHER MAJOR POWERS. THE CHINESE AND SOVIETS BOTH SEND SENIOR OFFICIALS TO ISLAMABAD PRIOR TO CONVENING OF 29TH AND 30TH UNGA.

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## Message Attributes

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